Handicap to Negotiation—*J. Alvarez del Vayo*

THE Nation

May 26, 1951

Italy at the Polls

BY SYLVIA SPRIGGE

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Lèse-Majesté in Los Angeles

BY HANNAH BLOOM

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Confusion on the Potomac

BY WILLARD SHELTON

*

The Hidden Revolution

BY STEPHEN W. REED

MAY 25 1951

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By Joseph B. Robison

Asia's Right to Self-Determination

▸ In the prolonged debate over the kind of government that should be set up in the newly independent countries of Asia, it has been taken almost for granted that the choice lies between democratic capitalism and Stalinist communism. Julius Stone, professor of international law at the University of Sydney, reminds us of the contribution that the Asiatics can make out of their long experience in the organization of human relations.

By Julius Stone

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

AT ONE POINT IN HIS TESTIMONY BEFORE the Russell committee Secretary Marshall misstated Administration policy, and may have made a settlement of the Korean war more difficult, by his advocacy of an American veto to prevent the admission of Communist China in the United Nations Security Council. Since the Department of State is as determined as Marshall that no country shall "shoot its way" into the U. N., the seating of the Peking regime at this time would be unthinkable. But if circumstances change—if a cease-fire can be negotiated and both Chinese and U. N. forces withdrawn from Korea—then Mao Tse-tung might get the necessary seven votes. Pro-Chiang zealots in Congress understand this and want to forestall such a possibility. That is why they deliberately pushed Marshall into saying that he favored a veto. The Department of State has consistently held that a veto cannot be used; the department's lawyers agree that the question of which Chinese regime shall be accepted by the U. N. is precisely the kind of procedural matter which we have refused to admit could be vetoed by the Soviet Union. Now Secretary Acheson will have to explain this position again when he meets with the committee. Beyond this, however, the great debate on foreign policy is certainly followed closely in Moscow and Peking. When American Congressmen advocate permanent hostility to Communist China, even after the Korean fighting is ended, they force the Peking regime in the direction of Russia and make more difficult any negotiations to get Mao to withdraw his armies from Korea. The issue in Korea is not whether Congressmen dislike Chinese communism but how the U. N. can end the war and restore Korean independence.

*

COLOMBIA LIBRE, PUBLISHED IN PARIS IN Spanish and French, has as its slogan, "From Resistance to Democracy" and gives detailed information on the fascist development of Laureano Gomez's infamous dictatorship in Colombia. The latest issue contains a full description of the situation in the concentration camps and of the extermination of a considerable part of the population of Los Llanos, an atrocity mentioned some weeks ago by Mr. del Vayo in his article "Regimenting the Americas." Other reports of the terrorism in Colombia have appeared in the American press. Dr. Eduardo Santos, former President of Colombia and one of the most eminent liberal leaders of South America, has repeatedly tried to call the attention of people in this country to the "thousands of Colombians who have been killed or deprived of their property." *Colombia Libre* even quotes well-known conservatives and members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, such as Monsignor Concha Cordoba, Bishop of Manizales, who have felt unable to remain silent about the situation. Gomez is proving that he profited considerably from his eighteen months' visit in Franco Spain. The new Colombian Labor Code very closely resembles that of the Spanish Falangist state. We have often expressed our detestation of all kinds of concentration camps, whether in Eastern Europe or on this side of the Atlantic. The possibility of exercising influence behind the Iron Curtain is limited, but in Colombia, where according to official figures America's share of foreign investments is about 80 percent, a word in favor of the persecuted liberals surely would be heard.

*

THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO REGENTS have decided the case of David Hawkins in the tradition of freedom and justice. On May 11, in a four-to-one decision, they upheld a faculty-committee recommendation, cleared Dr. Hawkins, and affirmed his fitness to teach. The regents held in effect that his one-time membership in the Communist Party did not constitute a priori subversion in a political climate in which conformity is confused with the common good. Technically Dr. Hawkins was tried for having been a member of the party, for failing to disclose that fact when he joined the Colorado faculty, for "evasiveness" before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and for a "never clearly defined" withdrawal from the party. Actually the issue was whether or not he should be ousted from his job because he once held ideas now heretical and had failed to recant in the socially acceptable Budenz manner. The regents, who are popularly elected in Colorado, courageously kept their heads. Had their decision come when political top-blowing was less fashionable, it would have been encouraging but not particularly spectacular. In the current temper it sounds a thunderous appeal for a return to reason. America, the regents said, is not yet so decadent that it must have a whipping boy to coerce loyalty and terrorize conscience into that bleak and ter-

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rible unanimity from which there is no return short of fratricide. The handling of the case by President Robert L. Stearns deserves praise. Throughout the affair he insisted that the "air of judicial calm" essential to a fair trial be maintained. To a quite remarkable extent he succeeded in maintaining it by the force of his personality.

*

EDWARD DMYTRYK, WHO WITH THE AID OF a scenario writer answered the question "What Makes a Hollywood Communist?" for readers of the *Saturday Evening Post*, has come up with an excellent idea—the formation of an Ex-Communists Anonymous, patterned after Alcoholics Anonymous. The ex-Communist certainly faces problems not unlike those faced by the ex-drunk or the ex-convict. It is impossible, for example, to witness Mr. Dymtryk's desperate efforts to reestablish the right to work in his profession despite his past beliefs without appreciating his problem if not admiring his method of solving it. Like many ex-Communists, Mr. Dmytryk seems to have "seen the light" only to have missed the point. Justly furious with the Communists because they would deny to others the liberties which they claim for themselves, he maintains an embarrassing silence on the crucial question of whether or not he accepts this same position. He seems to be saying that he should be permitted to assist in the making of motion pictures because he no longer holds all the beliefs he held in 1944 but that his former colleagues—now the Hollywood Nine—should be denied this right because they have not made a similar repudiation. Mr. Dmytryk has sworn off, which is fine, but like the ex-drunk, the ex-Communist finds it hard to distinguish between being a teetotaler and being a totalitarian—in reverse. If ex-Communists Anonymous were to be organized, its most important service might be to save its members from the need to justify their past by putting the finger on their former companions in sin.

*

THE PLOT OF 225 CALIFORNIA LETTUCE growers to raise prices in the Salinas "salad bowl" by destroying 50 per cent of the crop was promptly enjoined by the Department of Justice. A purely private affair, unlike other crop control programs, this scheme was planned and administered without any type of government supervision and control. Salinas supplies nearly half the nation's lettuce and has long monopolized the off-season market, being one of the few areas where lettuce can be grown commercially for nine months of the year. A sudden rise in temperature can break prices by maturing the heads too rapidly. For lettuce cannot be stored; it must be packed, iced, and shipped as soon as it is cut. With prices tumbling from $5 to $2.25 a crate, growers feared a repetition of last year's price break which cost them between six and seven million dollars. Their current attempt to maintain prices by destroying

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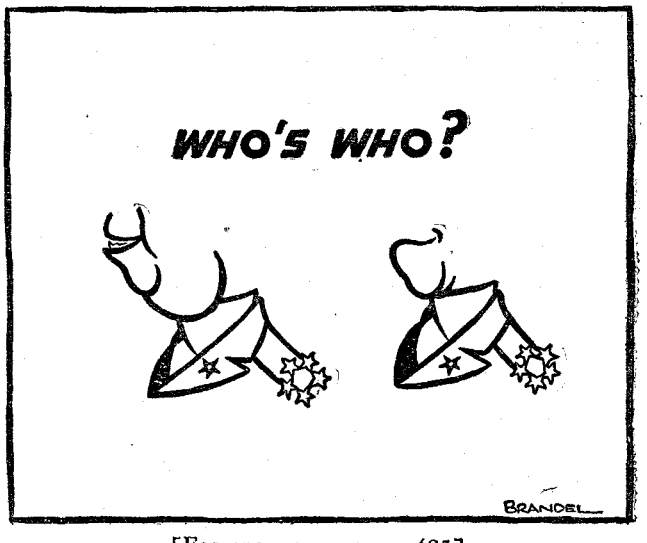
half the crop illustrates the difference between planned agricultural production and the cruder varieties of price-rigging. The Salinas growers do not want to plan production; they want to make the most money possible in the shortest time. Large-scale production of lettuce for distant off-season markets is inherently a form of gambling, but the Salinas growers would deny their customers a chance to win when the weather wheel suddenly favors them. As it works out in practice, the growers are "free enterprisers" when the crop is scarce and planners —or rather "crop-destroyers"—when the yield is abundant. Like most gamblers, they operate on the principle of never give a sucker a break.

*

TEXAS MILLIONAIRE GEORGE W. ARMSTRONG, in 1949 offered $50,000,000 to Jefferson Military College of Natchez, Mississippi, provided the school would bar students of "African and Asiatic" birth and agree to teach white-supremacy doctrines. The trustees, it will be recalled, finally decided to reject the grant. Some months ago Major General George Van Horn Moseley made a speech at Piedmont College, a small liberal-arts school in Demorest, Georgia, supported by the Congregational churches of New England, and later offered the college a grant from Armstrong's Texas Educational Association which was rather covertly accepted. When the faculty heard what had happened, a meeting was called in the chapel at which Hoyt E. Bowen, an instructor, protested against the acceptance of the grant and both faculty and students voted strong condemnation of Moseley. When this meeting was reported in the local press, the president of Piedmont asked A. R. Van Cleave, dean of the college, to "relocate," discharged Bowen for "insubordination," and some time later discharged David Eddy, the college treasurer, who had attempted to persuade the president not to accept the grant. None of the three discharged persons has been given a hearing. Without visiting the campus, the trustees voted to uphold the president despite strong appeals for an investigation from students, faculty, and alumni. Two of the trustees threatened "to close the school" if the students or faculty made further protests. The trustees will meet again on June 2 and will surely decide to reconsider their action and order a thorough investigation.



[For answer see page 485]

Aggression Rewarded

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE most puzzling aspect of the resolution on the Israeli-Syrian border dispute, adopted last Friday by the Security Council, is why it was introduced in the first place. Sponsored jointly by France, Turkey, Britain, and the United States, the resolution was actually initiated in Washington. The question is, why? What elements in the State Department were behind the move; what are their objectives? Coming at a moment when Arab nationalism is rising and tension in Iran threatens to break into open conflict, the resolution seemed a gratuitous contribution to the general unrest. The dispute itself was in abeyance; both sides had agreed to a cease-fire; for several days the border had been quiet. In pursuance of a Council resolution of May 8 calling for a cease-fire, the Israeli delegation had initiated talks with the Syrian delegation. By May 14, according to the report of Israel's Ambassador, Abba Eban, an agreement "was imminent." It would not only have confirmed the cease-fire but have provided for a general withdrawal of all military forces and equipment from the demilitarized zone and affirmed the authority of the U. N. Chairman of the Syrian-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission in supervising the carrying out of the armistice agreement. Once this basis was established, the conflict over the draining of the Huleh marshes in Israel's part of the zone, which had involved the displacement of the Arab owners of some seven acres of land, could have been settled peaceably.

In the words of Mr. Eban, this was surely "a situation in which all governments and U. N. agencies might well have shown absolute reticence." Instead, the joint resolution was suddenly introduced, ending any immediate hope of agreement and creating, in fact, the grave danger of renewed hostilities. The resolution condoned—for it did not even mention—Syria's original armed attack on Israel territory in the demilitarized zone; it rebuked Israel for the "aerial action" taken in response to that attack without mentioning the apology offered by the Israeli government; and it ordered Israel to "cease all operations in the demilitarized zone [that is, the draining of the marshes] until such time as an agreement is arranged through the Chairman of the Mixed Commission for continuing this project"—a prohibition which would put an indefinite halt to an urgently necessary work of reclamation and disease control by giving Syria

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power to obstruct it. In short, the resolution, put through the Council at the instigation of the United States, gives the Syrians exactly what they hoped to gain by their original aggression—a rather wry comment on our life-and-death struggle against the same threat in Korea.

Viewed in global terms, the decision may be a minor one. But the principle involved is not minor, nor can the practical consequences be regarded as unimportant. Its immediate result was that Syria did not sign the cease-fire agreement Israel had signed on May 11, although the Syrian delegate had previously agreed in principle to do so. The atmosphere of the talks changed from one of conciliation to one of hostility. The Arab League Council, meeting in Damascus, announced its complete satisfaction with the Council resolution and at the same time its intention to reinforce Syria's efforts to resist Israel's "aggression." Meanwhile, Israel has ordered a military alert and reaffirmed its right to continue the drainage project at Lake Huleh. These were the first fruits of the Security Council's untimely and one-sided intervention.

The further consequences may be more serious. Any new incident might start the "second round" of fighting which the Arabs have so consistently promised. Instead of stabilizing the Middle East, the resolution may serve as the starting-point of new conflicts, which must inevitably undermine the security of the Western powers as well as of the countries directly involved.

Why on earth did the United States set off this disturbing chain of events? The only apparent answer is that the Palestine pattern of 1947 and 1948 is being repeated in the same futile hope that by appeasing the Arab states, by rewarding violence and knuckling under to threats, the West can buy the good-will it requires in order to protect its interests.

The situation is one which again calls for direct Presidential intervention. Ambassador Gross, after the resolution had been adopted, said that since the United States believed the Huleh project would promote the general welfare, we should like to see the work begin again as soon as possible. Whether this is more than lip service remains to be seen. President Truman can make sure that it is more by instructing the American representatives on the armistice commission to try their best to bring about early resumption of the drainage operations. If this effort should fail, precisely the same measures taken by the United States in the Security Council to push through the resolution should be used to undo its harmful effects.

"If a certain upheaval has not escaped your notice, I am sure you will agree that it would be to your advantage to afford me the opportunity of acquiring adequate nourishment.... in other words—
I WANT SOME MORE!"
(OLIVER TWIST, REVISED)
RAW MATERIALS
U.S. Production Chief

FIRST JOB FOR SHAWCROSS

London *Daily Herald*

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Reason and Moral Courage

THE American Friends Service Committee some eighteen months ago issued a report on "The United States and the Soviet Union." It has now issued a new report, "Steps to Peace," which in the dark unreason of the times must be hailed as a beacon of good sense and moral courage. We shall comment on the reports proposals at some length in a later issue, but for the moment we shall praise merely its spirit and method.

It is not only a model of lucidity but is presented without the slightest cant, self-righteousness, or political bombast. It does not discuss motives; it uncovers no plots; it speaks frankly but never bitterly. While everyone admires the Quakers, far too few non-Quakers take them seriously, and they are more often admired for the wrong than for the right reasons. The Quakers "mean well," it is said, but they are utopian idealists and moral perfectionists; they don't have their feet on the ground —as Senator Wherry does. Actually this latest report is completely realistic in its exposure of the self-defeating character of coercive militarism and the notion that we can negotiate only "from strength." It is realistic when it discusses methods of negotiation—a field in which the Quakers have long excelled. It is realistic in its quietly voiced, matter-of-fact insistence that "any sound program of development is part of the social revolution which is proceeding on a world scale."

The report does not call for peace at any price; it calls for peace at a very high price. With a fine appreciation of American intentions and aspirations, it warns, nevertheless, that "we are moving not toward peace but toward disaster." It will probably be brushed off as impractical by many of the regular contributors to the *Congressional Record*, but that will only show the extent to which ours has, indeed, become an age of paranoia.

Turning-Point in France?

Paris, May 17

NOW that the date of the French elections, after months of hairsplitting discussions, has been fixed for June 17, the French electorate is perhaps beginning to realize that this may be the election which will decide the whole future of the Republic. Will France take a sharp right-hand turn, and Europe, after a Tory victory in Britain, enter an era of uniform and undiluted political reaction? That would happen if De Gaulle won enough seats to dominate a rightist coalition in the new Assembly. The shell of the Fourth Republic would still be preserved; but what if De Gaulle won, say, 200 seats and with the help of the "classic" right undertook to transform the present constitutional set-up into something quite different, in accordance with some of the promises—or threats—made in his May Day speech in the Bois de Boulogne?

Carrefour, the Gaullist weekly, realizing that the General went rather too far and scared many voters, has been painstakingly explaining that his words were misinterpreted, that he does not intend to march on the Elysée Palace, depose President Auriol, and set up a fascist dictatorship—which is precisely the meaning that the Communists and others on the left have been reading into his speech. Just before the vote on the election law Duclos warned that civil war in France would follow any Gaullist attempt to establish a dictatorship. The Socialist and the other Third Force parties, he said, like the Weimar parties in Germany in 1933, were blind to the danger.

The analogy with Germany in 1933 is far-fetched; conditions are not the same. There is great discontent in France, but there are not seven million unemployed, and the French electorate is politically more mature than the German was. Old-time French Socialists will tell you that while Paris may vote for the extremes, the provinces will in the main vote for the moderate parties. There is also a hope that even if De Gaulle does get 200 or more seats in the new Assembly, at least half his representatives will go over to the Third Force rather than follow him into some wild adventure. It is also true that the Gaullists are finding it hard to keep aloof in the election and that in many constituencies they will undoubtedly join forces with Third Force candidates in order to benefit from the system of *apparentements*, or joint lists.

At the recent Socialist Congress in Paris far more anti-Communist than anti-Gaullist sentiment was expressed. One of the two truly emotional moments of the congress came when Barbara Castle, like an angel of purity descended from the Socialist heaven, spoke of England to the French Socialists, who are black with all the sins of coalition; the other was when a Spanish Socialist, discussing the heroic movement of working-class revolt now sweeping Spain, begged that Franco be given no more help by the Western powers. At this point part of the audience suddenly broke into the "Internationale" and was soon joined by the rest. However, when the song was over, the chairman thought it necessary to point out that if the heroic Spanish workers should ever join forces with the "Stalinist totalitarians," their efforts against Franco would be wasted. Popular Front ideas are not favored; they are, in fact, considered in any context the deadliest of poisons.

A. W.

Answer to Who's Who?—Generals George C. Marshall and Omar Bradley

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Confusion on the Potomac

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, May 17

AFTER four and a half months of the Eighty-second Congress, Democratic leaders find themselves in the unenviable position of trying to defend a record notable only for its failure and futility. The session cannot possibly adjourn on July 31, as contemplated in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, and prospects for early action on vital legislation are dim. Not a single major appropriation bill has been passed, the new tax bill may not be finished before October, and the Administration is having little luck in its efforts to expedite revision and extension of the Defense Production Act.

The Defense Production Act is the key issue, for it states the terms of our remobilization and provides the framework for economic stabilization. Mr. Truman today appealed directly to the people for strong pressure on Congress. "The special interests and the lobbies" will wreck the stabilization program, he warned, "unless the main body of the citizens get busy and do something about it." The unfortunate fact is that at present, despite brave talk from Eric Johnston, the application of controls is confused and uncertain and on domestic policy Congress is still ruled by the conservative coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats.

Cotton Senators are attacking ceilings on cotton prices; livestock breeders are attacking meat controls; the real-estate lobby is trying to prevent the renewal of rent controls. The difficulties encountered in setting up a Wage Stabilization Board within the rigid restrictions imposed by Congress last year were almost insurmountable, and the President was finally forced to act without the formal labor-management conference required by the Defense Production Act. Dr. George W. Taylor, chairman of the board, is now carefully explaining to Congressional committees why flexible wage stabilization, rather than a statutory freeze, is necessary in a mobilization economy. But Senator Taft and other Republicans are quietly preparing an attack on the manner in which the President acted, and the ultimate effect may be to destroy what progress has been made toward orderly wage controls.

Charles E. Wilson, the mobilization chief, and Leon Keyserling, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, advocate increased production instead of stringent economic controls as the royal road to both military security and economic stability. The formula sounds easy: simply raise production and there will be plenty of goods for the military forces without taking any away from the civilian population. This has a dulcet sound to a Congressman, because it seems to save him from the necessity of alienating his constituents with "regimentation." And when the President urges stronger controls, he can reply, "Why bother with such measures? Wilson and Keyserling think production is the answer."

Unfortunately, production is not a complete answer. Nobody in the mobilization organization thinks that the present leveling-off of prices represents a long-term trend. On the contrary, the inflationary bite next year is likely to be more severe than it is at present, as higher purchasing power competes for a smaller volume of consumer goods. But no matter how vigorously the President presses for new controls, his appeal is weakened by the lack of unanimity in his Administration. Add to this difficulty the feebleness of the Democratic leadership in Congress, and it is obvious that Senator Taft's ideas, rather than Mr. Truman's, are likely to prevail.

THE weakness of the President's spokesmen on Capitol Hill was reflected in the Senate vote on the wheat-for-India bill. The State Department had belatedly decided to place the situation squarely before Congress and had told it that unless wheat began moving to India by April 1 of this year, starvation would be widespread. But when the bill was called up this week and Senators Ferguson and Bridges demanded an amendment requiring India to "pay" for the wheat with certain strategic materials which it produces, the Democratic leadership did not even participate in the debate. Senator McFarland of Arizona, titular floor leader, had nothing to say. Senator Gillette of Iowa, who was in charge of the bill, declined to oppose the amendment vigorously.

Prime Minister Nehru has not helped matters by repeatedly affirming his country's neutrality in the power struggle between the United States and Soviet Russia, but the Democratic Senators might have softened the effect of his speeches by recalling the fiery nationalism and self-assertiveness displayed by our own Republic in the first three years of its existence. Certainly strategic materials should not be bargained for in a bill offering relief from starvation. But the bill passed the Senate in that form, after a debate in which American Senators mocked the idea of pure humanitarianism.

ONLY in the investigation into the ouster of General MacArthur has the Administration held its lines. For three days this week the Senate committee hearings turned into a kind of circus sideshow as Republicans tried to force General Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to repeat confidential conversations he had had with Mr. Truman before MacArthur was recalled. The Republicans, according to Senator Wiley of Wisconsin, wanted to discover who

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"engineered" the ouster. But half the Republican committee members refused to support Wiley, and the intimation that unnamed sinister influences were brought to bear on the President was effectively answered by Mr. Truman himself in his press conference on Thursday.

The President's revelation that he had considered firing MacArthur last October, when the General tried to interfere with high policy in his letter to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, was accompanied by the further disclosure that Secretary of State Acheson had not instigated the dismissal but on the contrary had warned against its dangerous political effects. This will not alter the necessity of Acheson's early replacement, but it may make the Secretary's appearance before the Senate investigating committee less unpleasant than has been expected.

It is clear that Mr. Truman himself decided to fire MacArthur because the General's intrusions in policy left him no alternative. In his consultations with other military and diplomatic advisers nothing occurred to change the President's mind. Nothing has emerged in the Senate committee hearings to challenge successfully his assertion of his constitutional power to relieve an insubordinate field commander. The collapse of the hearings, from the Republican point of view, was signalized when Representative Halleck of Indiana, ordinarily an errand boy for House Republican Leader Joseph Martin, warned the G. O. P. National Committee at its meeting in Tulsa not to tie itself too firmly to MacArthur's kite. The warning may have come a little late.

Handicap to Negotiation

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN A fine speech broadcast by the United Nations as one of a series called "The Price of Peace," but given little attention in the metropolitan press, Ambassador Abba Eban, who heads the Israeli delegation, said, "The price of peace can never reach such dimensions as to equal the smallest fraction of war's deadly cost." He paid homage to the United Nations for having "organized and maintained its resistance to aggression in Korea without the extension of the conflict into a world war," but then pointed out that "after the original military objective for which the United Nations forces took up arms was achieved by clearing South Korean territory . . . United Nations diplomatic activity did not keep pace with these crucial military developments and thus could not take advantage of them."

After this speech was made, the General Assembly, on Friday, May 18, by a vote of 47 to 0, the Russian bloc abstaining, adopted a resolution recommending a selective embargo on war materials to Communist China. The "diplomatic activity" of the United Nations, whose sluggishness the Israeli Ambassador had deplored, was thus renewed, but in the opposite direction; so that the result was to double-lock the door to a future possible understanding with Peking. At the same time several statements in the press and on the air referred to the "increasing unanimity" in the U. N. on the question of Communist China's admission, and the whole subject was enveloped in new confusion.

In a letter printed in the New York *Times* on May 16, Professor Manley O. Hudson of Harvard, for ten years a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice, made the point that Secretary Acheson had no reason to modify his original position on the representation of China in the U. N. "The People's Republic of China," Professor Hudson wrote, "does not hold itself out to the world as a new state which has seceded from China. Nor has the government at Peiping applied for the admission of the People's Republic of China as a new state to membership in the United Nations. On the contrary, in its statement of July 6, 1950 (Document S/1583), the central people's government referred to the People's Republic of China as a permanent member of the Security Council."

Professor Hudson's approach is not only correct as an enunciation of international principles but is politically very wise. It leaves at least one important point —that of the representation of China in the United Nations—as a subject for eventual negotiation with Peking. Strangely enough, on the same day that the General Assembly voted overwhelmingly for an embargo on war materials for Communist China, Flushing Meadow was flooded with rumors of peace, and more precisely of a supposed conversation in London between the Soviet ambassador, Zarubin, and high British officials suggesting that a settlement of the Korean war on the basis of a division along the Thirty-eighth Parallel might now be arranged. Few of the delegates saw the inconsistency of speculating hopefully on chances of peace while adopting an attitude that, if Moscow should some day desire to act as intermediary, would leave it with nothing to offer Peking but "No return of Formosa," and "No seat in the United Nations," and as its only compensation two resolutions, one branding China an aggressor and the other declaring an embargo on war materials to China.

The question at issue is not the admission of a new state to membership in the United Nations but who is to represent China—Mao or Chiang. Secretary Acheson at first took this solid position, and if he had held to it, at least one door to negotiation would remain open. Whether or not he will support the position taken by Secretary Marshall, who has urged a United States veto of Peking's representation in the United Nations, Mr. Acheson has been put in a tight corner by his colleague

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—as well as by his own statement of "absolute opposition" to Mao's admission. This negative attitude was further emphasized by the disturbing pronouncement of Dean Rusk, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, who last Saturday said that the Peking regime might be a "colonial Russian government" but "is not the government of China." It is hard to see what purpose such a comment can have other than to create an atmosphere hostile not only to the seating of Communist China in the U. N. but to any attempt to achieve a negotiated settlement in Korea.

The State Department's renunciation of a constructive diplomacy on Asia is due largely to its inability to make its views prevail. Dean Acheson has been forced to yield to the pressure of groups who have one fixed idea—to destroy the Chinese revolution; thirty-four years ago similar groups were making every effort to destroy the Russian revolution—with what success we have seen. And in destroying the Chinese revolution they intend to destroy Mr. Acheson also. The Secretary of State apparently cannot stand out against the prevailing mood in Congress. He cannot permit himself the luxury of a policy of his own. Nor can Great Britain or other Western nations permit themselves the luxury of pursuing their own policy when it differs from that of Washington.

Everybody today ought to have the strength of mind to see things as they are and not to deceive themselves or others. The plain fact is that no measures now being taken seem likely to bring an end to the Korean war. If anyone doubts this, he should read the May 16 broadcast of the Chinese Communists as transcribed by the Associated Press. "The United States," it declared, "has killed the last chance of reaching a peace in Korea by manipulating the United Nations into branding Red China an aggressor." When the aggressor resolution was being discussed in the United Nations, several delegates said openly in the Political Committee that it was one way of prolonging the war indefinitely. Many others who for obvious reasons did not dare to speak out in the Political Committee expressed the same opinion in the corridors. The embargo resolution, however logical or even inevitable in the context of the aggressor resolution, will tend to make Mao more intransigent than ever and weaken what hope remained of peace by negotiation.

Lèse-Majesté in Los Angeles

BY HANNAH BLOOM

Los Angeles, May 16

THE Board of Education in Los Angeles suffered a severe jolt recently when an audacious, fifty-three-year-old schoolmarm openly defied it and threatened to knock the props from under its "monarchy upheld by fear."

Mrs. Ione Swan, a crusading elementary-school principal, is an aggressive, militant educator who talks back to her superiors and impudently discards shop-worn practices which fail to work in her schoolroom "laboratory." When School Board officials refused to grant her request for sand pits under playground apparatus, saying that children got dirty playing in sand, she replied, "I'd rather clean them up than bury them," and continued her battle until she won the safety measure. When she complained that ice cream being sold to the children was not fit to eat, she was told that none of the other schools had objected. "That," she retorted, "is a reflection on the schools," and stopped the sale of ice cream at her school. In contrast to her docile colleagues she became such a nuisance that last month the Board of Education dismissed her, after twenty-six years' service as a principal, for "unprofessional conduct."

"Education is the tightest monarchy on the civic scene," Mrs. Swan declares. "They fired me to tighten up their fear control, to show what happens when you dare to criticize. In this monarchy, promotion and demotion are the coin of the realm."

She has now brought legal action for her reinstatement, maintaining that she was punished for exercising her right as a citizen to prefer charges against public officials. The school administrators have replied that she used her position to attack the school system, failed to produce evidence for her charges, and by her accusations destroyed confidence in public officials.

Mrs. Swan is admittedly not one to comply with protocol. Last fall, when the 1950 grand jury was hearing testimony on the "rigging" o examinations for telephone operators in the school system, she asked to appear before it. While the jurors were about it, she suggested, they might look into the graft, mismanagement, and inefficiency of the school system in three specific areas. She charged that two School Board members, with the consent of the entire board, had profited for many years from the insurance taken out by contractors serving the

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school district (Roy Becker, president of the School Board, and L. S. Rounsavelle, husband of a board member, have since admitted getting a cut of the commissions on $67,500,000 worth of policies covering school buses); that the board was criminally negligent in failing to provide proper safeguards for playground equipment; and that the school cafeteria served food of inferior quality, at high prices, and under unsanitary conditions. Subsequently, after the formation of a Return the Schools to the People Committee, additional charges were preferred—namely, that "through their own stupidity" the personnel administration had caused a shortage of teachers and reduced the system to using emergency, or non-certificated, teachers, and that the board deliberately maintained "a reign of terror" which exacted "loyalty not to the children and teachers but to itself and its administrative staff."

The School Board demanded that Mrs. Swan sustain her accusations with actual proof or face disciplinary action. Mrs. Swan chose to reveal her evidence in court instead of at a secret session of the board. Since when, she asked, is it "customary in law for the accuser to turn over the evidence to the accused?" The 1950 grand jury heard enough of her evidence before it expired to recommend "a detailed investigation of the activities of the Los Angeles city school district" in 1951.

THE school scandal is more than a backyard airing of dirty linen. By attacking the malpractices of school administrators with the weapon of the law, Mrs. Swan seeks a revaluation of the mechanics of education and its "phony code of ethics." Rumblings from the whole country reinforce her warning that the teaching profession is "hidebound by tradition and antiquated methods, unaware of its goals, pitifully indifferent to its responsibilities." In the Los Angeles school journal, of which she was formerly editor, and in a speech before the National Education Association in 1947, Mrs. Swan had declared that education "did not encourage, it penalized any disturbance of the status quo. It did not want analytical, laboratory methods—it demanded a staying within the framework. . . . Seeking blindly for an objective, it made of its tools and techniques both a goal and a medium," and feebly decided that "education is the three R's." Education's own contempt for itself, she said, is reflected in the number of teachers who are "overworked, underpaid, frustrated, confused, and nervously exhausted."

A group of parents and a few teachers are fighting for Mrs. Swan's reinstatement, but no civic, educational, labor, or other public-spirited body has come forward to support her challenge. Although the school scandal was Los Angeles table talk for three months, liberals cautiously took refuge behind their own confusion. It was rumored that Mrs. Swan had been grooming herself for a high position and that her thwarted ambition was the source of her wild accusations. Superintendent of Schools A. J. Stoddard labeled her criticism "ridiculous, fantastic, and weird." Others hinted of a subversive plot to take control of education. The formation of numerous "citizens' committees" which were difficult to identify by political or ideological criteria added to the public bewilderment.

The absence of substantial public support for this crusading teacher is something for Los Angeles and other communities to ponder. Emphasis on Mrs. Swan's alleged political ambitions has apparently diverted attention from the main issues. The philosophy of "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone" has been carried to a ridiculous extreme. In the wake of the Kefauver crime hearings and the investigations in Washington of "corruption in high places," Los Angeles has exhibited an alarming cynicism. While granting that the charges may be true, many ordinarily alert citizens have shrugged them off with a what-do-you-expect-of-politicians attitude. Or they have rationalized their inactivity by finding a likeness between the irresponsible accusations of Joe McCarthy and the charges of a school principal who risked her job to make them and offers solid evidence to support them. The public seems to have ignored the basic fact that Mrs. Swan was not only willing but eager to substantiate her charges under oath in a court of law.

In the past three months the three primary objects of Mrs. Swan's attacks have been dealt heavy blows. A grand-jury investigation which she instigated has upheld her charges of mismanagement in the school cafeterias. The school administrators vehemently denied that "hamburger was extended with suet and water . . . that meat containers were coated with dried blood and often left unwashed for months . . . that maggots were seen crawling in the meat containers," and by the time the jurors investigated in late March, the food center must have undergone a frantic clean-up. In recommending six corrections of food-center practices, the jury report stated: "Conditions at the meat center during 1950 and the first month of 1951 were subject to considerable criticism. These conditions appeared to be due to insufficient supervision and infrequent inspection. . . . The jury finds that most of the criticized conditions have been corrected."

MRS. SWAN is relying on test court cases to confirm her accusations of criminal negligence and corruption. The commissions on contracts received by the president of the School Board and the husband and son of another board member have long been common gossip. The School Board itself had doubted the legality and the ethics of such commissions and sought the advice of its legal counsel, who had assured it that the

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contracts did not violate the section of the school code which states, "No member of the governing board of any school district shall be interested in any contract made by the board of which he is a member." If not illegal, Mrs. Swan maintains, surely such contracts are immoral, and in a taxpayer's suit she will attempt to show that the school system "has degenerated from a public institution into a private enterprise run by and for the board and its administrative staff."

Another lawsuit asserted that by refusing to carry out the recommendations of a safety engineer the board had jeopardized the health and safety of thousands of children. This suit was dismissed, but an appeal is planned. In 1948 a survey conducted by an accident-control consultant showed that "in recent years the pupil and employee accident rates in the Los Angeles city school system have steadily increased." Recommended for "immediate attention" was the replacement of blacktop surfacing with sand under climbing poles, double horizontal bars, and horizontal ladders; but the board took no action. After one boy was injured and another killed by falls Mrs. Swan succeeded in getting sand pits and rubber mats for her own school but not for others. Finally on May 11 a six-year-old boy fell from a school swing and died. Los Angeles parents then loosed a barrage of protests, and on May 15 the board discontinued indefinitely the use of apparatus on school playgrounds.

In the course of the campaign preceding the April primaries, in which four members of the Board of Education were up for reelection (two were elected and two face a run-off in May), evidence of skulduggery in the schools accumulated. It was revealed that the board had spent more than $1,000,000 of funds earmarked for school buildings for the construction of a garage for their official cars. School principals and parent-teacher groups were accused of serving as "extensions of the monarchy" by helping to keep the incumbents in office and distributing their campaign literature. Administrative hiring policy was said to exercise vicious discrimination against certain races and religions and against persons over thirty-five years of age. The cheating in civil-service examinations for telephone operators, which had been roundly condemned by the grand jury and later "whitewashed" by the Board of Education, remained an unresolved issue.

The brave gray-haired school principal whose "J'accuse" started it all believes that the highest purpose of education is to develop the "educated man"—a person with a "thinking mind, an understanding heart, and a fine sense of values." The question in Los Angeles now is whether its citizens have been "educated" well enough to refuse to condone malfeasance in public office.

Italy Goes to the Polls

BY SYLVIA SPRIGGE

Rome, May

IN ROME on May Day, toward noon, some ten thousand people assembled near the Coliseum, at the foot of the little green hill to the right of the Arch of Titus. Two or three hundred of them waved red and multicolored "peace" flags. The green mound bristled with banners and slogans, and from it a grave voice boomed out, magnified by a score of loudspeakers. The workers of Italy, the voice said, would never let Italy become a slave of American millionaire imperialists (cheers) or be led by Signor de Gasperi (long low whistles) and his gang into a new world war (groans and cries of "Pace, pace").

The art of treating a crowd like a motor car—pressing the accelerator to make it go fast, changing gear to make it climb, suddenly free-wheeling downhill, was developed to a nicety by Mussolini. The Communist orators of Italy are thoroughly trained in it today. Six "agitprop" schools in Emilia alone, that northeastern "red" province of which the capital is Bologna, conduct intensive courses lasting from two weeks to two months and turn out a constant stream of young organizers and speakers.

The Italian Communist Party has plenty of new blood but is beginning to lose members over thirty. Optimistic figures published recently in the United States by the State Department suggest that more than 700,000 of the 2,225,000 members of the party have resigned. An indication of the accuracy of this assumption will be afforded by the coming local elections, the first of which will be held in a large number of communes on May 27 and June 10.

The May Day meeting of the Communist-controlled General Confederation of Labor (C. G. I. L.) in the Coliseum was as enthusiastic as it had been in former years. Rome's factory workers, carrying big banners, were in the vanguard; the rest of the crowd consisted about equally of Communists, one-time Communists, and spectators who had come to see what sort of show

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the party could put on. Some of Rome's idle and curious were attracted by a different meeting at the other end of the city. Across the Tiber, in the Teatro Adriano, the Free Confederation of Trade Unions (C. I. S. L.) was celebrating its first anniversary, and the speeches were broadcast to a thousand or so mildly interested citizens gathered in the Piazza Cavour. The theater itself was packed with three thousand trade unionists, mostly men who had either resigned from the Communist unions or had recently joined a union for the first time since Mussolini's day, when you had to belong to a government-controlled syndicate or risk losing your job.

The speeches here were a curious mixture of Marxist class-war slogans and generally moderate statements of the objectives which Italian trade unions must begin to achieve if they are to have any influence in the nation. I remembered that a leading Belgian Social Democratic trade-union leader said to me last year, "In Belgium the class war now bores the workers. They are interested in more immediate and practical aims. We use the old terminology only in the coal-mining districts, and even there the miners' committees haven't much time for it." In Italy after five years of class hatred preached in the Communist-led unions, the transition cannot be immediate. Hence the occasional passionate outbursts in the Teatro Adriano.

Not that many Italian employers do not deserve hearty condemnation for their delay in modernizing their plants or their loose spending of E. R. P. grants. And the treatment of domestic servants, of whom there are nearly two million in Italy, is really callous. But the Free Confederation was busy on May Day telling its followers to work and train for influence in factory committees, for standing for Parliament or local office, for negotiation, and for planning the kind of state they want to have. Behind their efforts, said one speaker, was a union which supported both the rights of the workers and the defense of the country (loud cheers) and took no orders from any party. "The press," he said, "can call us white, the Communists can call us church unions, but they are both wrong. We are determined to be free of all party or denominational dependence."

The Free Confederation has an uphill road ahead of it, accused as it is of being financed by the Vatican and by "American imperialists." One must visit the small villages in Emilia and the factories in Milan and Turin to appreciate the sheer moral courage which was needed to found a branch of these unions in the winter of 1949-50, and which is needed even today. The tiny offices were smashed again and again. The handful of members were beaten up, and still are in very "red" districts. In Genoa now the shipowners are only beginning to engage their cooks and stewards from the free unions. These unions are still hard up and working under difficult conditions, in cramped offices and mainly with unpaid officers, though they have received some financial help from the American trade-union movement.

The Teatro Adriano meeting with its attendance of 3,000 and the Coliseum meeting with its 10,000 just about represent the ratio of non-Communist and Communist organized workers in Italy today. However, far more Italian workers are outside the unions than in them. The General Confederation (Communist-controlled) claims to have five million paid-up members; the Free Confederation, 1,225,000; the Independent Socialist Unions, about 510,000. But there are at least 20,000,000 adult workers in Italy in a population of 47,000,000. Where were they on May Day?

IN TRASTEVERE, a working-class section of Rome, everyone was in the streets enjoying the holiday. Trastevere leads its own life, sings its own songs, and celebrates feast days with its own ardor. The *Festa di Noi Altri* in Trastevere is more fun than the labor federations have ever provided. One might argue that trade-union organizations do not exist to provide fun and festivals, but in Italy that is one thing they must do. And if they fail to do it at least once or twice a year, then they fail altogether. Mussolini's Fascist syndicates organized clubs and *dopolavoro* activities. Like Hitler's "Kraft durch Freude," they gave the people bread and circuses and then put them into uniform and made them march in parades and listen to speeches. The General Confederation would doubtless do the same if it were in power.

As things are, it organizes bicycle and motorcycle races and puts on games, dances, and competitions four and five times a year. The Free Confederation has not yet had time or money to organize anything except its own existence. In Trastevere, however, few workers of any affiliation would use a national holiday like May Day for anything except local merry-making. Farther north whole districts of many Italian cities remain impervious to propaganda of any kind, and workers pay dues to the local *camera del lavoro* only because membership may be advantageous when they are unemployed.

No picture of Rome on any day would be complete if it omitted the Via Veneto, that mixture of Broadway and Park Avenue down which the tourist feels he must stroll on his first morning in Rome. Every Italian city has its Via Veneto, its little parade ground where on Sunday mornings and evenings the youth and beauty of the town walk, chat, sit down for a drink or an ice. But Rome has so many idlers that the Via Veneto is crowded every day. Last week I found a well-known government official leaning against a house there at noon on a sunny day. I suggested to him that his opposite number in Washington or London would be slaving at his desk. "It is all a matter of how you look at life," he said, and

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went on looking at life. He has since been promoted to one of the most important posts in the country. Thinking it over, I decided this was not necessarily a corrupt appointment. People who are stout and placid and even-tempered are at a premium in Italy.

The ability to command respect or even obedience here is rare. Years of practice are beginning to qualify the Christian Democratic Party for further years in office. Years of opposition are rotting the Communist Party but will not destroy it. Italy's national income is now 20 per cent higher than it was in 1938, thanks to E. R. P. aid, but there are 2,000,000 unemployed and the southern peasants are desperately poor and ill-housed. The unemployed and the southerners are not party members, but the party speaks for them, until the day when the free unions will speak for them.

IT IS easy to make fun of the Social Democrats in Italy. Even the name is scorned here, although many at Saragat's "Unification Congress" in April begged him to use it for the new united party. Romito and Silone of the leftist faction objected to it as "too German; we Latins like plain names." The merger of the two offshoots of Nenni's fellow-traveling Italian Socialist Party was announced on May Day, but they will campaign with separate lists in the local-government elections in Venice and Florence—both cities have had Communist mayors since 1946—and are opponents in a score of other areas. If the new party is successful anywhere, it will be a miracle. The spectacle of its internal strife is no inducement to vote for it. Away to the left is the growing number of ex-Communists led by the two young Emilian deputies Aldo Cucchi and Valdo Magnani. They formed their own movement at the end of April and have announced that "it will not take part in the local-government elections," which is as good as saying that ex-Communists will abstain from voting. So perhaps will many others.

The neo-Fascists, or Movimento Sociale Italiano (M. S. I.), are everywhere supporting joint lists with the Monarchists and are believed by one section of the neo-Fascist press to have greatly weakened themselves thereby. There was a time in December last year when this combination seemed so formidable that Minister of Interior Scelba actually forbade the congress in Bari at which the alliance was to be consummated. It might have rallied a host of supporters then, but now, without the preparatory publicity of a congress, seems likely to be disastrous for the M. S. I. The south, however, may rally to the strange joint lists.

These local elections have a European significance comparable to that of the Italian general election of April 18, 1948, when the world's biggest Communist Party outside Russia was defeated by a wide margin. At that time it was generally forgotten that the governments of Italy's big cities had been in Communist hands for two or three years and were likely to remain there until a new electoral law could be got through Parliament which would enable new local elections to be held. That law was passed just before Christmas, 1950. At present Genoa, Turin, Venice, Bologna, Florence, and more than 2,500 smaller communes have Communist mayors and Communist majority administrations. At various times during the coming summer and autumn local-government elections will be held in all of Italy's 7,000 communes. The law provides for affiliated party lists, and the government coalition will probably include the Christian Democrats, the Republicans, the not always united Independent Socialists, and in many places the Liberals.

In communes of fewer than 10,000 inhabitants, the winning list will at once get four-fifths of the seats on the local council. In larger communes three-fifths of the seats will go to the winning list, and the rest will be divided among the other lists according to their strength. The Christian Democrats have three years of national government to their credit, but anti-clericalism is strong in Italy, and in districts where the clergy interfere too much the Christian Democrats will suffer. It is difficult for the bishops to keep out of politics after having been local princes for so many centuries, at least in the former Papal States. The allies the Christian Democrats most need in the provinces are the free trade unionists, the small business men who have had a raw deal under the Communist administration, and the middle class which once hoped the M. S. I. would rehabilitate it but has largely lost that hope now.

Red Straits

By PRUDENCIO DE PEREDA

A Report on the Subversive Activities of Certain Contributors to Radio Not Covered by "Red Channels"

AROUET, FRANCOIS MARIE DE, also known as Voltaire: writer.

Contributor to University Theater of the Air, School of the Air, others; frequently quoted on America's Town Hall.

Chairman Calas Defense Committee; most active worker in this effort to free anti-religious murderer. *Cf.* pamphlets, letterhead.

Sent greetings and a contribution to dinner to honor J. J. Rousseau. *Cf.* list of contributors.

PRUDENCIO DE PEREDA is a New York writer whose work has appeared in the O'Brien and O. Henry memorial volumes and in the New Republic, Accent, *and other magazines.*

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Made extended trip to Moscow, conferred with head of state. *Cf.* Catherine the Great's biography.

Has prison record.

BYRON, GEORGE GORDON, LORD: versifier.

Contributor to Poems That Touch the Heart, School of the Air, others.

Disclaims membership in League of the Godless but actively associates with P. B. Shelley, active, admitted member. (See Shelley.)

Delivered address in House of Lords opposing death penalty for wanton destruction of private industrial property by workingmen. *Cf. Times* (London), 2/7/10.

Active participant in Greek guerrilla actions, Missolonghi; these later necessitated imposition of Truman Doctrine. *Cf.* Byron's biography.

BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN: composer.

Contributor to New York Philharmonic, NBC Symphony, others.

Member Committee of Welcome, Jacobin (French Communist) army, Vienna; later composed symphony honoring leader, Bonaparte, N. Made half-hearted withdrawal of dedication at a later date. *Cf.* Congress of Vienna, Report No. 2260.

Praised by Lenin in conversation with M. Gorki, Capri. *Cf.* Memoirs of M. Gorki.

CERVANTES, MIGUEL DE: writer.

Contributor to University Theater of the Air, School of the Air, others.

Aided Spanish Loyalists. Statues of his two characters, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, utilized by pro-Communist Loyalists' army in delaying freeing of Madrid by General Franco. *Cf.* "History of the Spanish Civil War," illustrated.

Published "La Numancia," slated to become best-seller in Soviet Union. *Cf. Pravda*, file No. 22440.

Has prison record.

CLEMENS, SAMUEL L., also known as Mark Twain: writer.

Contributor to Children's Story Hour, Radio Playhouse, others.

Sponsored admission to United States of M. Gorki, admitted Soviet propagandist. *Cf.* New York *Times*.

Published at own expense memoirs of U. S. Grant, General, containing copious anti-war propaganda, cited by Partisans for Peace. *Cf.* Un-American Committee's List of Subversive Organizations.

JEFFERSON, THOMAS: writer.

Contributor to Pursuit of Happiness, Norman Corwin Presents, Jefferson Day Dinner broadcasts, others.

Contributed name to Jefferson School of Social Science. *Cf.* Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations.

Opinions often cited by Civil Rights Congress—see Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations. Set pattern for their actions by sabotaging Alien and Sedition Laws. *Cf.* History of the United States, any.

Disclaims membership in the Jacobins but follows Paris line faithfully. *Cf.* writings, pamphlets.

Communist Party membership card No. 23440 made out to individual of this name, July 4, 1936. Address: 2800 East Twenty-fourth Street, New York.

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM, President, Union States; propagandist.

Contributor to Gettysburg Memorials, School of the Air, Lincoln Day Dinner broadcasts, others.

Corresponded with Karl Marx, addressed him as "Dear Mr. Marx," signed himself, "Sincerely." *Cf.* Letters of Karl Marx.

Committee to End Jim Crow in Baseball cited his speeches, opinions. *Cf.* Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations.

LONGFELLOW, HENRY WADSWORTH: versifier.

Contributor to Poetry Hour, Poems That Touch the Heart, others.

Sponsor of Dred Scott Defense Committee. *Cf.* letterhead. Active supporter this and other anti-slavery movements. *Cf. Congressional Record*, Calhoun, p. 2336.

Contributed name "The Children's Hour" to play by Lillian Hellman, author of the script, "North Star," Soviet propaganda film. *Cf.* "Collected Poems."

RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF, NICOLAI: composer.

Contributor to Boston Symphony, Masterwork Hour, others.

Winner of composer-popularity poll, New York City, said to be inhabited by 20,000 membership-card Communists. *Cf.* Testimony, J. E. Hoover, Un-American Activities Committee.

Left Russian ship, vicinity of Schenectady, site of advanced electrical experimental stations, pretense, view Niagara Falls. *Cf.* "My Musical Life." N. Rimsky-Korsakoff.

Born, Moscow.

SHELLEY, PERCY BYSSHE: versifier.

Contributor to Poetry Hour, Romantic Nights, others.

Sponsor and active member of League of the Godless. *Cf.* pamphlet, "The Necessity of Atheism." Consorted with Mary Godwin, daughter of W. Godwin, atheist leader. *Cf.* "Ariel," A. Maurois.

Associated with G. G. Byron at Ravenna, Italy, preparatory to Byron's sailing to Greece to aid Greek guerrillas. *Cf.* "Ariel," A. Maurois. Abetted in this action by J. Keats also a versifier.*

Praised as "thoroughgoing revolutionary" by Karl Marx. *Cf.* E. M. Aveling, "Shelley as a Socialist."

* The works of J. Keats are now under study by this organization. Particular attention is being given to his piece, "Ode to a Grecian Urn," with a view to discovering what connection, if any, it bears to the Free Greece Movement activities of his associates, G. G. Byron and P. B. Shelley.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Hidden Revolution

HUMAN FERTILITY: THE MODERN DILEMMA. By Robert C. Cook. William Sloane Associates. $4.50.

IN THE ninety-odd years since Darwin shattered and reshaped the world of thought about man's place in nature, the biological and social sciences have advanced along tangential paths alternately wooing and spurning one another. The misguided zeal of Social Darwinists to effect a legal match ended in their degradation as mere camp-followers; and perverted attempts of racialists, earlier eugenists, and others to deduce laws of human history and behavior from single physical factors have likewise been relegated to the lumber-room of human folly. But the central notion of the wholeness of man—as both a biological organism and a social being—has never quite been lost to sight; and it becomes ever more apparent that a scientific view of the matter cannot be the exclusive property of any specific discipline. Recent works of men like Julian Huxley, who introduces the present volume, Lancelot Hogben, Fraser Darling, Dunn and Dobzhansky, Caryl Haskins, Ashley Montagu, and Amram Scheinfeld clearly demonstrate how effective mutual aid can be among the life and humanistic sciences when they join to attack basic problems common to all mankind. Such writings, buttressed by quantities and kinds of evidence scarcely visualized by Darwin, are yet in the great holistic tradition of his "Descent of Man."

This latest attempt to bring home to a wide lay audience some of the vital facts unearthed by modern bio-social research uses the shock treatment and scare-head tactics so typical of American popular science to alert us to a hidden but portentous revolution. Like Vogt's impassioned defense of topsoil and organic conservation in "Road to Survival" (also published by Sloane), which caused thousands of sober citizens to wince whenever they flushed a toilet, Cook's book heralds a world-wide deterioration of levels of living consequent on overpopulation and an accelerating erosion of our biological and cultural heritage. Drawing extensively but selectively upon authoritative recent findings in the study of population growth and human genetics, he cuts through the veneer of headline discontents to wrestle with what a handful of men from Malthus to Huxley have regarded as the gravest problem in the modern world—the uncontrolled growth of human populations. Two theses run like red threads through his pages: (1) the vital revolution, which has given man his most effective control of death since he descended from the trees, has not yet proceeded far enough to insure equal success in checking his ebullient fertility; and (2) the uneven decline in family size both within and between contemporary societies, a condition technically known as differential fertility, is fraught with the alarming consequence of a progressive deterioration in man's genetic constitution.

Cook provides a broad array of interesting facts to illustrate the nature and consequences of restricted mortality coupled with heedless fertility. The main lines of mankind's explosive growth since 1650 are sketched convincingly, and glimpses of demographic history in Ireland, Puerto Rico, Japan, Sweden, and this country help to underline the magnitude of socio-economic problems of overpopulation in underdeveloped areas which at present contain about two-thirds of the human race. This is a Euro-American problem only to the extent that we have become our brothers' keepers. Cook's solution for this phase of the dilemma is that of a liberal, non-Catholic humanist: more education, more planning, more family limitation, and the invention of "a simple, foolproof contraceptive tablet no more expensive than aspirin." He ridicules the argument of social scientists—and the working assumptions of the governments of most of the world's backward peoples—which says that raising levels of living is the only ultimate means whereby births can be brought into balance with death. He states flatly that "it is utterly impossible to raise living standards fast enough to achieve a balance with the pressure of numbers as severe as it is today in many countries." This is opinion, of course, and should be labeled as such. Perhaps future catastrophes will prove it correct in some of the massed societies of the Far East; but there is other opinion which regards the chances as fair to good that many of the most backward, sparsely settled areas can yet learn to curb unfettered births and to stabilize rational patterns of growth before their substance is exhausted. It can also be said that no all-out program of modernization, a program which would use all our current knowledge, skills, and resources, has yet been tried out anywhere.

Western problems of population, by contrast, are essentially those of quality rather than quantity. Cook, who is a biologist at George Washington University and editor of the *Journal of Heredity*, traces the perpetually fascinating development of human genetics in a lively fashion—from Mendel's peas through Morgan's *Drosophila* to the school children of I. Q. testers and the fruitful study of human twins. This serves as background to his interpretation of the meaning of differential fertility. It is a fact that about one-sixth of the United States population, largely rural, impoverished, and semi-educated, is supplying more than one-half of our next generation of citizens. Despite caveats about contradictions among the data, the labile character of "intelligence," and the difficulties inherent in its accurate measurement, Cook leans heavily upon selected (mainly British) investigations for his conclusion that "today's differential birth rate makes a decline in intelligence inevitable." Perhaps it does, but this is a bold inference to draw from the shreds and patches of our present knowledge. Such an argument would be convincing only if we were to ignore past changes in differential fertility and to predicate a specific static pattern in it from this time forward.

Any book which covers so much ground, ignores traditional boundaries,

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and draws upon so many sources—238 items are cited in its bibliography—is bound to invite professional criticism. Scholars will cavil at its misspellings and pounce upon some misstatements of fact; prose purists who deprecate the exclamatory style of American popularization of science may feel that they have lost another round; and specialists will envy its air of assurance on many moot points. But the book's general message has an import for free peoples which should override such reservations. It needs to be widely read and understood, for it can add a cubit to the layman's knowledge of himself.

STEPHEN W. REED

Many Ways and Means

THE MAN WHO WAS LOVED. By James Stern. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

LIKE Paul Bowles in "The Delicate Prey," James Stern writes about far-flung places—Africa, Germany, Ireland, Hawaii, England, the United States. But with a great difference. He is not fascinated by variety for its own sake—one reason, certainly, why his prose is better than the somewhat distilled "atmosphere" of Mr. Bowles. Variety has merely been central to his experience.

He is preoccupied with physical strength and athletic skills; a great deal of riding, swimming, and killing is accomplished in this book. This strength and these skills are agents for good and evil. The fact that the man who was loved could snap off the head of a deadly snake with one deft crack is the pivot on which everything else in that fine narrative turns. The powerful physique of the lover gives the sexual imbroglio in Our Father its meaning. When perverted, as in The Broken Leg, a concern with physical prowess can be entirely destructive. Physical strength makes the fearsome battle between the vixen and the swan in Under the Beech Tree an immediate moral experience. Mr. Stern has also a profound feeling for ritual and observance. It is most evident in the not entirely successful Next Door to Death, an account of a long illness in a tropical hospital where each day's pain becomes a ceremony; the sense of ritual is plain in The Broken Leg, which is, on one level, the account of a puberty rite, though the occasion is an English hunt meeting; in Travellers' Tears the traditional sentimental tourist farewell to the Hawaiian Islands is turned into fine comedy.

Life in "The Man Who Was Loved" is fraught with violent and always meaningful climaxes which compose themselves into a series of subtle parables, for Mr. Stern's is largely a moral imagination. In a situation so marked by ceremony as an English hunt meeting, the inexpert boy rider, terrified by his role as an acolyte of fox-hunting, attains a wild courage which is dissipated in final catastrophe. Or climax may simply happen: in the dawn a flight of ducks appears to two desperate minor proconsuls of empire surveying the African waste, and they fall to mad slaughter. Most startingly, climax may be the collapse into tears of a tearless aunt, consecrated to hunting, when she sees the vixen that has been killed by the swan.

These stories fail in what they attempt to do only on one important level: they do not create any sense of close relationships between human beings. Solitaire, the least successful among them, is one of two which depend almost entirely on such relationships. Otherwise one reads on with the sense that many ways and means are being tried out, that most of them succeed brilliantly, and that the act of writing has been always a pleasurable experiment. Travellers' Tears, for example, details with irony and skill the beginnings of three most irregular love affairs; it is neither entirely serious nor entirely frivolous, but a successful mingling—so far as such minglings *can* be successful—of both tones. It is far removed in feeling from the sudden bloodlettings of Two Men, or from the feeling of the title story, in which the funeral of the man who was loved, the idol of club and bar in the dull South African town, is abruptly taken over—with the fine sense for ritual I have mentioned—by the Negroes who have really loved him. It is almost as if each story demanded, in order to be written, an entirely different set of sensibilities and moral judgments. And this is no matter of virtuosity, though Mr. Stern is, of course, a virtuoso, but of a rich experience deeply felt and carefully re-created.

ERNEST JONES

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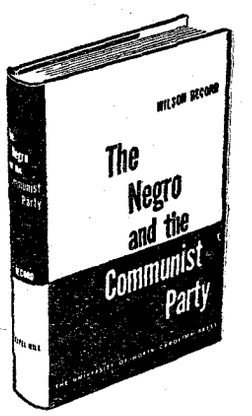

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Prophet in Eclipse

H. G. WELLS: A BIOGRAPHY. By Vincent Brome. Longmans, Green and Company. $3.75.

SIR DESMOND MACCARTHY, we are informed by the publishers, damned this biography as "flashy, credulous, untidy." I cannot understand this outburst of peevishness. The book is neither idolatry nor debunking. It is Wellsian in its honesty and in its gusto. Wells was a gifted romancer, an able novelist, a little more than an amateur in science, a commoner bitterly resentful of Victorian snobbery, a popular encyclopedist, a prophet of free thought, world organization, planned economy, and, with fitful consistency, an eternal Don Juan—in the romantic, not in the frivolous interpretation of the myth. No doubt these currents clashed within him and prevented formal perfection, but Wells's uniqueness was the result of the very conflict. On an ampler scale there were also many men in Dante, Milton, Goethe, Hugo, Tolstoy, and even Karl Marx. The formulae of psychology are far more complex than those of organic chemistry.

I discovered Wells about 1900, through "The War of the Worlds," picked up on the banks of the Seine. I had just graduated from a stiff course in citizenship, the Dreyfus Affair. Wells was in harmony with the spirit of Jaurès, Zola, Anatole France. He brought romance into the rather drab ideology of the progressivists, and he brought realism, in thought and style, into the shimmering realm of Utopia. He wrote, of course, infinitely too much. Most of his romances and novels read like second-rate pastiches of H. G. Wells. Many of his non-fiction books are hasty pamphlets or loose bundles of articles. His encyclopedias were doomed by their very nature to rapid obsolescence. As an artist he reached creditable heights. "Ann Veronica," once so daring, joined "A Doll's House" in the cemetery of books killed by their very success. But "Tono-Bungay" has a Dickensian richness. I agree with Brome that the earliest of his romances, "The Time Machine," has retained its freshness. "The Island of Dr. Moreau," a Gothic tale, stirs greater depths than "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," and, as a tragic allegory, is rivaled only by Kafka's.

Wells was a journalist. Hard as he strove to create a perspective, backward and forward, he lived in his day and for his day. But he was none the less a *philosophe*. He and Shaw were the Voltaires of their generation. (Neither Wells nor Brome, by the way, seems aware of the fact that Voltaire wrote a better "Outline of History" nearly two hundred years before.) Both were left stranded: but not because they were false prophets. I firmly believe that the Enlightenment—the faith of our Founders—represents the main stream of our civilization. And, within the Enlightenment, the British tradition, Hume and Gibbon, Godwin and Paine, Shelley, Owen, the Chartists, Huxley, Morley, seems to me the spirit which best combines sanity with generous promise.

To this tradition Shaw and Wells belonged. Shaw had the keener, not the richer mind. Above all, he had the surer dramatic sense; he composed his *persona more brilliantly*. And he retained his health and vitality almost to the end. So he died in glory, and Wells in eclipse. Brome's biography accounts both for Wells's tremendous success and for his partial failure. Irony and pity are properly blended, without any suspicion of superciliousness. The closing chapter is melancholy but not despairing. There are men who help and men who hinder mankind's eternal quest; and Wells was among the pathfinders.

ALBERT GUERARD

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Books in Brief

OF SOCIETIES AND MEN. By Caryl P. Haskins. With an Introduction by Vannevar Bush. Norton. $4.50. One of the outstanding phenomena of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the increasing conviction that the future of mankind must be predictable. Though prophecy has tended to grow gloomier and gloomier, the pseudo-Darwinian evolution, the Marxian dialectic, the Spenglerian and even the Toynbeean philosophy of history have in common the assumption that the development of human society represents the working out of some understandable biological, economic, or historical "law." The present volume by a competent biochemist

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examines the question whether our present knowledge justifies the belief that living organisms have been consistently evolving from single cell to social insect and that the society of human beings is following a parallel line. His answer is no, and he predicts for us a social organization very different from the totalitarianism of either the ant hill or the Stalinist state. What makes his book extremely interesting is not this very tentative, possibly wish-directed guess but a wealth of data calculated to baffle those who make easy generalizations, a generally skeptical attitude toward the analogies which many scientists are prone to accept as confirmations strong as Holy Writ, and a gift for explanations neither oversimplified nor difficult to follow. Readers will get a lot of biology and learn at the same time not to draw conclusions too readily.

JAMES HARROD OF KENTUCKY. By Kathryn Harrod Mason. Louisiana State University. $4. An excellent biography of a famous frontiersman, founder of the first settlement in Kentucky, and an exciting history of the long and savage warfare with the Indians in which he participated and which earned for that region the name of "the dark and bloody ground."

Drama Note

"FLAHOOLEY" (Broadhurst Theater) is a fantasy with contemporary references which flies fairly high in the first act and then has a laborious time getting down again. It is also packed with oddly assorted ideas, devices, and performers, some of them ingenious and amusing, others merely tiresome; and the total effect is very mixed. The Bil Baird Marionettes—a whole troupe of them—are the best feature of the show, and they are quite extraordinary, both in their design and their manipulation. Yma Sumac, the fabulous Peruvian whose voice has a range of four octaves, can't sing, unfortunately—or at least doesn't in this case—and one's interest in hearing her varieties of pitch is strictly limited. The music as a whole is not distinguished, though there are some pleasant songs, and the gusto of the company makes them sound better than they are. Barbara Cook and Jerome Courtland as the young lovers look their parts and act and sing them rather well. Ernest Truex seems to me overrated as a comic. Irwin Corey as the genie has some funny sequences but is often defeated by his material. The quality of the humor, like Yma Sumac's voice, has a remarkable range from fairly good to abysmally bad. M. M.

Films

MANNY FARBER

"THE THING (from Another World)" is a slick item thriftily combining a heavy science story with a pure adventure yarn for better than ordinary entertainment. This story of an intellectual carrot who delivers a flying saucer from Mars might have taken years and millions to make; instead, the problem was solved by setting the film at the uncomplicated North Pole, hiding the saucer under ice, and keeping the ferocious vegetable for an hour from the audience's eyes. Before its appearance there is little more than imaginative science talk and off-screen howling from the Thing, but the dialogue is a flashy, interesting, erratic jumble reminiscent of disc-jockey chatter. Despite its indulgence in the cliché of the Mad Scientist—a vaguely Russian-type "Nobel Prize winner"—and the final letdown when the Thing turns out to be merely the familiar Frankenstein monster *fines herbes*, the film almost convinces you that its imaginative predictions may some day all come true.

"The Brave Bulls"—concerning a frightened *torero* who mysteriously loses his fear in the last five minutes—is an exercise in powerful photography if not in lucid story-telling. Its first scenes in the Plaza Mexico—an ancient *paso doble* blasted forth out of battered trumpets—provide the year's most spine-tingling footage. The rest is an arty, confused attempt to show what's so special about "da bools, da muzik, da beeg crowds in da hot afternoon." Robert Rossen, its producer-director, is an ex-pugilist with proletarian proclivities who uses newsreel and editing devices with a pummeling effect. Rossen breaks his story into three plots so that he can admire the quaint nobility of small-town Mexican breeders, impresarios, and other walk-on figures. Somehow, the incidental crowd has always had a great

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importance for Rossen, and in this film he has loaded his stations, streets, and patios with the same "little people" who jittered in the foreground and background of "All the King's Men"—only now they are *paisanos*. For all this, "The Brave Bulls" turns up an endless thread of visual treats, and it is probably less un-Mexican than some of its lines.

The under-dogs have their day again in "The Scarf," a disjointed, monstrously affected psycho-mystery freak show. This time the producer-directors are Dupont and Goldsmith, two European aesthetes who have been snarling at the rich and drooling over the poor ever since the days of Emil Jannings. Here they glamorize a singing waitress, a turkey-raising hermit, a jaundiced metaphysical barkeep, and a morose amnesiac fugitive from a desert asylum. These types are set up against a Berlin's-eye-view of the American scene: Greyhound buses, hitchhikers, cactus, flourishing analysts, prison breaks. Dupont and Goldsmith turn their tinny proletarians into sententious talkers, dubbing them with names like "Level Louie" and "Cash-and-Carry Connie" and having them oscillate their eyeballs in a sophisticated version of Griffith's pantomime. It sounds awful but it's kind of interesting.

Back to bulls. "The Bullfighter and the Lady" is produced by actor John Wayne and suggests his own personality and career by its simplicity, its spaciousness, its complacent trust in cagy brawn. A Yankee skeet-shooter (Robert Stack) quickly learns the matador's trade—*faena, veronica, et al.*—from Mexico's head bull-slayer, thus reminding us of Wayne's quick rise to stardom after a mediocre discus-throwing career at the University of Southern California and his close student-master relationship with John Ford. Ford's inclination to glorify rugged masculine fellowship also comes through—but in a surprising and sticky way. The audience is besieged with handsome male anatomy—nearly nude matadors flexing their muscles in a steam room, matadors bulging out of their skin-tight pants, endless close shots of Stack's platinum curls and toothy grin. However, Wayne makes bullfighting clearer than Rossen does.

"Appointment with Danger" is a fascinating textbook on the Average American Flop—his speech, mien, sag, misanthropy, doubt. It is also a well-done report on the geography of Gary, Indiana, a place that seems crowded with failures. There are only two really weak actors in it: Alan Ladd and his co-star, Phyllis Calvert, who like many English players always looks ready to keel over from lack of orange juice, exercise, and sunshine. Still, it's about time the critics stopped jumping on Ladd. This emotionless splinter has one real virtue: his incessant numb bravery often inspires the rest of the cast to outdo themselves in the opposite direction. So in this mail-robbery movie, the more Ladd outguns and outslugs a gang of white-collar thugs—most of whom seem instinctively sure their fool-proof scheme will backfire—the more Henry Morgan, Jack Webb, and the other thieves inject subtle trouble into their traditionally tough characterizations. These understated shades of dejection are so perfectly articulated that Ladd fans are growing restive—not from the monotony of his heroics but from seeing their own pessimism revealed in grainy, gloomy honesty.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

NEITHER Couperin's charming pieces for harpsichord nor the one vocal work of his I had heard previously—the Third Tenebrae Service, which I found uninteresting when Victor issued it fifteen years ago—prepared me for the First Tenebrae Service now issued by Allegro, an extended piece of vocal declamation whose unique style and expressive force make it one of the most remarkable and wonderful pieces of music I have ever heard (and the only piece I have encountered which might have been an antecedent of the melody of Berlioz that doesn't fill out symmetries with predictable repetitions but moves on always to what is new, unforeseen, yet continuous). Its force is enhanced by the singing of the tenor Hugues Cuenod—the long phrases, powerfully sustained and inflected by a voice with little sensuous beauty but extraordinary expressive color. On the same record are Couperin's Motet "Audite Omnes," less unusual in style but very impressive also, and three fine secular songs. Instrumental support for the singing is provided chiefly by Daniel Pinkham at the harpsichord, with Robert Brink and William Waterhouse playing violins, and Alfred Zighera a viola da gamba without frets that might just as well be a cello. Only English texts are given.

The superb Mass for four voices of Byrd is sung by the Fleet Street Choir under the direction of T. B. Lawrence with vocal sound whose extraordinary beauty is increased by its ability to expand in the space provided by the superlative London recording. The same work and Byrd's Mass for three voices are sung with less beauty of sound by the Choral Society of London under the direction of John Bath on an Allegro record.

Capitol offers beautiful singing by the Roger Wagner Chorale in the lovely polyphony of Palestrina's Missa Papae Marcelli (the Welch Chorale's singing of Palestrina's Missa Brevis and Missa "Ascendo ad Patrem" on Allegro records I now do not find good).

From Westminster we get at last a good performance of Bach's B minor

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Mass, with Scherchen conducting the Vienna Akademie Kammerchor, vocal soloists, and the Vienna Symphony. In one important matter—tempo—the performance is first-rate: there is not a section in which Scherchen's pace is not in varying degree slower or faster than Shaw's in the Victor performance, and only one, the *Sanctus*, in which Scherchen's is not in varying degree more effective, or even—in the *Qui tollis* and the *Et incarnatus*—right where Shaw's is impossibly wrong. This is an excellence which outweighs defects like the chorus singing with too much vibrato, or the soloists singing too close to the microphone—this being a defect even when the soloist happens to be the magnificent bass Alfred Poell or an excellent contralto named Gertrud Burgsthaler-Schuster or the tenor Anton Dermota (the sopranos are undistinguished). In addition the singing of the chorus is more relaxed and sensitive than in the Shaw performance; and texture is clearer. Surfaces are a little gritty.

The Haydn Society gives us a complete performance in German of "The Seasons," a work with many charming and lovely pages, and some powerfully expressive ones in the *Winter* section. The soloists are Trude Eipperle, a soprano with a strong tremolo, the tenor Julius Patzak, whose voice no longer has the beauty and ease of youth, Georg Hann, whose sonorous bass is overpowering much of the time; moreover the sound of the orchestra and chorus of the Vienna State Opera conducted by Krauss is made unpleasantly harsh by the reverberant Musikvereinsaal in which it was recorded. The older Cetra-Soria recording offers only part of the work (but some of the best parts) and orchestral and choral sound which hasn't present-day brightness and liveness; but the beautiful singing of the Italian soloists is ravishing to the ear, and the less bright and live sound is something one is willing to accept, after all the coarse singing and harsh sound of the new version.

Among works of lesser stature, Haydn's "Paukenmesse" or "Mass in Time of War" (Haydn Society), which has powerful moments, is well sung by Viennese soloists, the Akademie Chorus, and the State Opera Orchestra under Gillesberger. Bass and treble need to be stepped up. Also, Bach's Cantata No. 78 "Jesu, der Du meine Seele" (Mercury), with fine opening and closing choruses and poignant recitatives, is well performed by the Bavarian Radio Chorus and Chamber Orchestra and soloists under Josef Kugler. And the same chorus, orchestra, and conductor perform Verdi's Stabat Mater (Mercury), one of the Four Sacred Pieces—one that has lovely passages but is rather diffuse and not as fine as the more familiar Te Deum. The sound is distorted in loud passages, and loses brightness and volume near the center of the record; and there are surface defects.

Rameau's secular cantatas "Diane et Actéon" and "L'Impatience" (Allegro), excellently sung by Cuenod with the instrumental group of the Couperin performances, are pleasant music I don't care much about. And listeners with the special taste for the music will be more excited than I over the secular vocal and instrumental pieces by Josquin and Dufay performed by the Pro Musica Antiqua under Safford Cape (EMS Recordings).

The fine singing of Gregorian chant by the Trappist Monks of the Abbey of Gethsemani (Columbia) is repeatedly broken into by a voice which gives English translations of the Latin words, making the record one to avoid.

Works I have found uninteresting are Bach's Cantata No. 131 "Aus der Tiefe" (Victor), his Cantatas No. 65 "Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen" and No. 106 "Gottes Zeit is die allerbeste Zeit" (Allegro), his Peasant Cantata (Allegro), Alessandro Scarlatti's Motetto da Requiem and Porpora's Salve Regina (Allegro), Mozart's Vesperae Solennes de Confessore K.339 (Mercury), Brahms's Choral Songs (Allegro), Debussy's music for "Le Martyre de St. Sébastien" (Allegro), Poulenc's Mass in G (Victor), Lambert's "The Rio Grande" (Columbia).

CONTRIBUTORS

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Letters to the Editors

Defense of Dr. Pauling

Dear Sirs: Your defense of Dr. Linus Pauling in *The Nation* of April 14 was utterly absurd. Perhaps the California Tenney committee is a "witch-hunting" body which has at times been guilty of "weird inaccuracies" and perhaps not. That seems to me quite irrelevant, for in this case the facts are clear. Dr. Pauling has participated—has, indeed, been a prime mover—in every stage of the giant Communist "peace" hoax from the 1949 Waldorf conference to the 1950 Stockholm Appeal drive and this year's "Peace Crusade." He was an ardent Wallace backer and is now an officer of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, a group listed as subversive and the United States Communist Party's leading cultural sucker-trap at the present time.

Isn't it time for *The Nation* to face the simple fact that, all the Tenney committees aside, fellow-travelers *do* exist; that they serve the cause, not of liberalism and free inquiry, but of Soviet totalitarianism; and that Dr. Linus Pauling is one? LOUIS SHERMAN
New York, April 20

[The regents of the University of Hawaii knew all about Dr. Linus Pauling's political views when they invited him to dedicate a new chemistry building on the campus. *The Nation* was defending neither Dr. Pauling nor his views; he is quite capable of defending himself. Our editorial was addressed to the manner in which the regents publicly withdrew the invitation in response to political pressure without first hearing from Dr. Pauling. The regents doubtless invited Dr. Pauling to participate in the dedication ceremonies because he is one of the world's great chemists and not because they approved or disapproved of his political views. To cite his views as the reason for withdrawing the invitation was a rather crude way of avoiding a statement of the real reason—namely, political pressure exerted by discredited investigating agencies.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Writers' Peace Pledge

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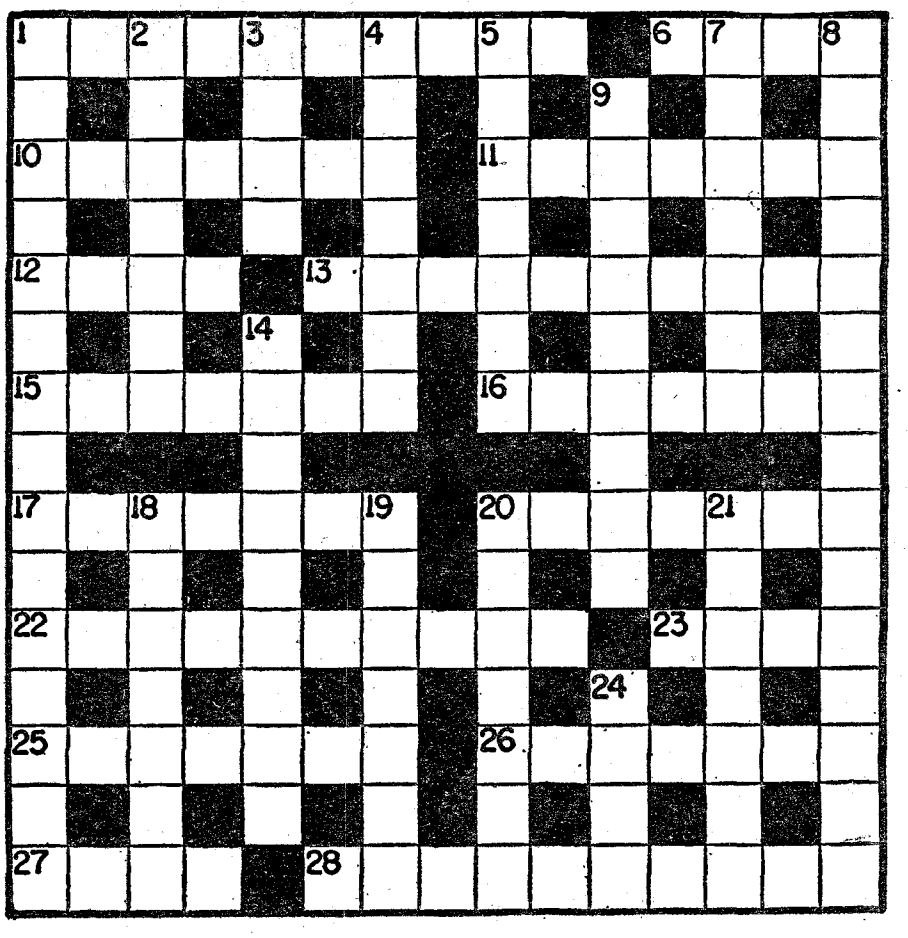
Crossword Puzzle No. 414

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 She may be a sweet young thing, but it sounds as though the policeman punishes her for it! (10)
6 A Yale man should never appear in *Fidelio*. (4)
10 Cry on sight of the coach! (5-2)
11 Soft child's toy, in a manner of speaking. (7)
12 Borodin's Prince. (4)
13 How the moocher pays for his meal? (3, 2, 5)
15 Is the bunch of posies like a fish out of water? (7)
16 Traumas take place in it. (7)
17 Old Dominion shaft for the curtain? (7)
20 Act odiously (or odorously)? (7)
22 Such behavior implies a management problem. (10)
23 Hold in the tower? (4)
25 Goes after coffee, meat, and scissors. (7)
26 One of Tschaikovsky's caprices. (7)
27 The season of the wise man. (4)
28 The declarer does. (10)

DOWN

1 Cotton means important standards to the diamond expert. (7, 8)
2 A doubled letter might enable this statesman to walk. (7)
3 The end of a long line of children? (4)
4 From round to full. (7)
5 Applies. (7)
7 How we might 23 things faithfully with the sound of "charge." (2, 5)
8 Ceiling price? (8, 7)
9 Pot to imitate in play, perhaps. (9)
14 Stable measurements? (9)
18 Gross emotion, by the sound of it, for what the sailor might be doing. (7)
19 Charges excessively for previous wrongs. (7)
20 Stay under the auto, and with water you'll have gas. (7)
21 Strangely enough, you never mention its name when you sing it! (7)
24 Well, he was a patriot!

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 413

ACROSS:—1 CARBON DIOXIDE; 10 RABBI; 11 ABSOLVING; 12 BLOODSHOT; 18 MABEL; 14 SPIRIT LEVELS; 19 HEARTHSTONES; 22 INTER; 24 STAIRCASE; 25 PARAMOUNT; 26 GUTTA; 27 PEANUT BRITTLE.

DOWN:—2 ALBION; 3 BLIND SPOT; 4 NEATHERDS; 5 INSET; 6 XYLEM; 7 DRIBBLED; 8 GRUBS; 9 AGELESS; 15 TWO-MASTER; 16 EYES RIGHT; 17 SHRIMPS; 18 PARTERRE; 20 PASTEL; 21 PETAL; 23 ROMAN; 24 SHUNT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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the basis of peacefully negotiated settlements. As writers we want peace and, through our work, will try to get it; and we pledge ourselves to encourage an international settlement through peaceful negotiation. We condemn writing likely to sharpen existing dangers and hatreds.

As signatories we are associated with no political movement, party, or religious belief but are solely concerned with trying to stop the drift to war. We invite all writers to support this declaration and to tell us of their support by sending their names to A. E. Coppard, "Hillside," Duton Hill, Dunmow, Essex, England.

A. E. COPPARD, ALEX COMFORT, SEAN O'CASEY, CHRISTOPHER FRY, LAURENCE HOUSMAN, ROGER MACDOUGALL, COMPTON MACKENZIE, HERBERT READ, SIEGFRIED SASSOON, SHEILA KAYE-SMITH, L. A. G. STRONG, FRANK SWINNERTON

Dunmow, England, May 1

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New York, May 15

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